Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 MCT-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 IO-13 SSM-03 ACDA-07 /093 W

-----260629Z 050088 /14

R 261400Z MAY 77 FM AMEMBASSY SANA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1341 INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA AYEMBASSY LONDON 719 AMEMBASSY CAIRO AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

SECRETSECTION 1 OF 2 SANA 2014

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT

SUBJECT: AL-HAMDI AND THE OPPOSITION

REFERENCE: SANA 1825

BEGIN SUMMARY: SENSE OF VULNERABILITY WHICH LINGERS OVER YAR GOVERNMENT IN AFTERMATH OF HAJRI ASSASSINATION GIVES SPECIAL DRAMA TO CONTINUING MANEUVERING BY SHAYKH AL-AHMAR AND YAR PRESIDENT AGAINST EACH OTHER. AL-HAMDI RETAINS INITIATIVE, PREPONDERANCE OF FORCE, BUT HE IS NOT AT EASE WITH HIS POSITION. AL-AHMAR SAID TO BE BITTER AFTER ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON HIM WHICH HE TRACES TO YAR GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. KEY POLITICAL GOAL OF YAR PRESIDENT IBRAHIM AL-HAMDI IS
TO REMOVE HASHID SHAYKH ABDALLAH BIN HUSSAYN AL-AHMAR FROM
SCENE. AL-HAMDI HAS REGRAINED FROM USE OF FORCE TO
ACHIEVE THIS AIM, PARTLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT WANT LOSE
SAUDI SUPPORT AND PARTLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT WANT TO BESECRET

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COME EMBROILED IN BATTLES OF REVENGE WITH TRIBES. HE PREFERS MANEUVER, AND HAS PRESUMABLY OBTAINED SAUDI GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT TO A PLAN (REFTEL) WHICH WILL FIRST GET AL-AHMAR OUT OF COUNTRY FOR AWHILE AND THEN GIVE HIM MEANINGLESS POST IN GOVERNMENT. OVER LONGER RUN, AL-HAMDI APPEARS TO BE COUNTING ON DEVELOPMENT SERVICES AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE CONFERENCE FOR NEW

CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS TO STRENGTHEN HIM AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AT EXPENSE OF SHAYKHS.

- 2. LAST WEEK. IN EFFORT TO DETACH SOME SUPPORT FROM AL-AHMAR, AL-HAMDI SENT HIS OFFICE HEAD, ABDALLAH BARAKAT, WHO HAS RANK OF DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, TO BARAT IN THE NORTH. PARTY WENT BY PLANE, BUT HAD GOOD RECEPTION BY LOCAL DHU MUHAMMAD AND DHU HUSSAYN TRIBES. THESE TWO GROUPS, WHICH NOTORIOUSLY OPPRTUNITISTIC, LIE TO NORTH AND EAST OF HASHID COUNTRY. BARAKAT CAME WITH FUNDING FOR SCHOOLS AND OTHER PROJECTS. SANA TV SHOWED MUCH FOOTAGE OF LOCAL SHAYKHS, TRIBESMEN ENTHUSIASTICALLY SURROUNDING BARAKAT AND WAVING REPUBLICAN FLAG. DESPITE THIS RECEPTION, HOWEVER, BARAKAT STUCK CLOSE TO BARAT, HOME TOWN OF ABDALLAH DARRIS, LONGTIME YAR GOVERNOR OF MARIB, THOROUGH-GOING REPUBLICAN AND ONE OF HEROS OF BATTLE OF SANA AGAINST ROYALISTS IN 1968. VISIT MAY BE MORE OF SANA MEDIA EVENT THAN ANYTHING ELSE, BUT SOMEONE TOOK IT SERIOUSLY ENOUGH TO TRY TO PLACE BOMB ABOARD BARAKAT'S AIRPLANE ON WAY BACK TO SANA. EVENT IN ANY CASE HAD TOUGH BARAKAT, A KHAULANI AND THUS MEMBER LIKE DHU HUSSAYN AND DHU MUHAMMAD OF LOOSE BAKIL CONFERATION. TRYING WITH SOME SUCCESS TO WORK IN COUNTRY WHICH NORMALLY BEHIND AL-AHMAR'S LINES.
- 3. AL-AHMAR HAS BEEN DOING SOME MANUEVERING OF HIS OWN IN THE MEANTIME. HE HAS BEEN TRAVELLING --SAADA, NORTHERN TIHAMA, AND PERHAPS ONCE IN LAST TWO MONTHS TO SAUDI ARABIA --- TO DENOUNCE PLANS FOR NEW CONSTITUTION SECRET

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AND ELECTIONS, LEFTISTS IN GOVERNMENT, RAPPROACHEMENT WITH SOUTH YEMEN. ONE CONFERENCE HE HELD IN KHAMER LED TO DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE NUMBER OF PAHPHLETS DENOUNCING YARG. (AMONG OTHER THINGS, AL-AHMAR DENOUNCED AL-HAMDI REGIME AS CIA AGENT AND STOOGE OF IMPERIALISM.) SOME OF THESE WERE BROUGHT BACK TO SANA BY USIS ENGLISH STUDENT WHO NOMINATED BY MIN PUBLIC WORKS FOR US SCHOLARSHIP. STUDENT WAS CAUGHT AND IMPRISONED IN SANA. WHEN USIS LATER SENT LETTER TO MINISTER PUBLIC WORKS RE IMPORTANT TEFL EXAM FOR STUDENT, FORMIN ALKAASNAJ CALLED AMBASSADOR COMPLAINING THAT LETTER WAS "IRREGULAR".

4. CALL IS NOT VERY IMPORTANT EXCEPT FOR WHAT IT SAYS ABOUT SENSE OF UNEASINESS AND VULNERABILITY IN LEADING YAR FIGURES AFTER KILLING OF HAJRI. BODYGUARDS FOR OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN INCREASED AND ONE GOOD SOURCE TELLS US THAT PRESIDENT CONCEALS MOST OF HIS SCHEDULE AND HIS WHEREABOUTS NOWADAYS.

5. SPECULATION IN SANA KEEPS COMING ROUND TO QUESTION OF AL-AHMAR'S POWER AND INTENTIONS. WE HAVE HEARD OF ULTIMA-TUMS COMING IN LETTER FORM TO AL-HAMDI AND KNOW FOR SURE THAT EXCHANGES OF LETTERS CONTINUE BETWEEN THESE TWO RIVALS. WE DOUBT AL-AHMAR WILL ATTACK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FORCES ALTHOUGH HE HAS THREATENED TO DO SO (IN VEILED TERMS) TO AMBASSADOR IN LETTER REPORTED SANA 1747. ATTACK IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCOUNT SINCE WE NOW HAVE SEVERAL CON-FIRMING STORIES OF ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON AL-AHMAR ABOUT TWO MONTHS AGO, APPARENTLY JUST AFTER HAJRI DEATH. ASSAIL-ANT, WHO ACTED ALONE, WAS PROMPTLY SHOT TO BITS BY AL-AHMAR BODYGUARDS SO HIS MOTIVES REMAIN UNKNOWN BUT AL-AHMAR ALMOST CERTAINLY BELIEVES GOVERNMENT SET UP THE HIT. (TRIBAL AND PERSONAL DISPUTES COULD JUST AS EASILY EXPLAIN THE ATTEMPT.) IN ANY CASE, AL-AHMAR'S DISLIKE FOR AL-HAMDI AND BITTERNESS ABOUT GOVERNMENT WHICH EX-CLUDES HIM ARE GREAT.

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6. IF AL-AHMAR DOES ATTACK HE WILL ENGAGE ARMY THAT ACTS WHAT IS INCREASINGLY LIKE ANOTHER, NEW AND VERY POWERFUL TRIBE. BENEFITS SHOWERED ON THIS GROUP INCREASE ALL THE TIME; EXAMPLE IS PROJECT WHICH US COMPANY BIDDING ON TO BUILD 1000 HOUSING UNITS FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL IN SANA. ARMY ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE ASSABIYA OR IDENTITY WHICH LEADS IT SEEK REDRESS OR REVENGE IF ONE OF ITS OWN IS KILLED. THESE FACTORS, PLUS ITS RELATIVELY GREATER ABILITY IN COMBINED ARMS, MAKE IT MORE THAN MATCH IN OUR EYES FOR ATTACKING TRIBESMEN.

7. MOREOVER, AL-HAMDI IS IN MUCH BETTER POLITICAL POSITION THAN AL-AHMAR. WHATEVER ROLE ADEN MAY HAVE PLAYED IN HAJRI ASSASSINATION, THEY ARE NOT MAKING TROUBLES FOR AL-HAMDI AT TIME HE EMBROILED WITH NORTHERN TRIBES. WHATEVER LONG TERM STRATEGY --- OBLIGE AL-HANZI, INFILTRATE HIS GOVERNMENT, ORGANIZE CELLS CLANDESTINELY --- THEY ARE SUPPORTING HIM IN ANY FIGHT WITH TRADITIONALIST

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ACTION NEA-10

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R 260400Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1342
INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

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FORCES. AL-HAMDI AT SAME TIME HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH SAUDIS AND WITH US AND HAS KEPT SOVIETS ON STRING. HE HAS MODEST ARAB WORLD REPUTATION FOR PROGRESS, MODERNIZATION. AL-AHMAR,IOY CONTRAST, CAN ONLY HUNKER DOWN IN HIS TRIBAL REDOUBT, RESPONDING AS BEST HE CAN TO AL-HAMDI INITIATIVES ON INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL SCENE. THIS TACTICAL DISADVANTAGE, PLUS INFERIORITY HIS FORCES VIS-A-VIS ARMY, PUTS AL-HAMDI ICSSTRONG POSITION FOR PERIOD THROUGH FALL AT LEAST, WHEN HE WILL PROBABLY ORGANIZE NEW GOVERNMENT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL LEADERS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 26-May-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am

Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event:

Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977SANA02014
Document Source: CORE

Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Expiration:

Film Number: D770188-0068

Format: TEL From: SANA

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770514/aaaaalsu.tel

Line Count: 199 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c3633289-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION NEA

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: 77 SANA 1825

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 12-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 2354795 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: AL-HAMDI AND THE OPPOSITION

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, YE, (AL-AHMAR, SHAYKH), (AL-HAMDI, IBRAHIM)

To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c3633289-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009